

THE NATIONAL REGISTER.

No. 22]

CITY OF WASHINGTON, MAY 27, 1820.

[Vol. IX.]

Published, every Saturday, by JONATHAN ELLIOT, at five dollars per annum—payable in advance.

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Speech of Mr. Lowndes, ON THE TARIFF BILL.

*Delivered in the House of Representatives of
the United States, April 24, 1820.*

[CONCLUDED from p. 334.]

Something had been said of the expences of collecting a duty upon domestic goods, and the higher expences of excluding goods seemed to be forgotten.

Some gentlemen admit that the proposition of his friends from Virginia, that individuals would pursue that course of industry which would be most profitable to themselves and the country, would be true if other nations as well as we, would "leave trade to itself." Their concession was injudicious. If all nations admitted a free trade, the arguments for restriction on our part would be just the same as they are now. What would be the inducements to us to admit this trade? That it furnished us in exchange, for products which to us were worth 100 millions, products which were worth 150—that what we bought, was worth more to us than what we sold; and if those nations could not, buy the 100 millions, if they could not, or would not buy more than 50 or 20 millions, the argument would still be unchanged even in its form. However, reduced might be the amount of the trade, it must still consist in an exchange of what we wanted more. In this view of the question, which appeared to him a very simple one, it was not necessary to remark upon the argument, that our supply of agricultural produce would grow in a much larger proportion than the demand of Europe or its population. It might be better for us that their demand should grow more rapidly, but if it would be to our advantage too, though in a smaller degree, to supply even a less demand. This difference however, in the increase of the agricultural produce which we should export, and the foreign demand for it, might be expected to have been illustrated by experience, as well as developed by theory. What was the fact? All admit that the proportion of our industry employed to produce bread-stuffs for foreign consumption, ought to bear a continually lessening proportion to the general industry of the country. But, is it necessarily that the government should interfere to prevent the inordinate increase in the quantity of provisions which we exported, or can the people manage that matter without our interference? Whoever will take the trouble to examine the account of our exports for 20 years past, will find that, while the products of our industry at home have probably quadrupled, our exportation of provision has not increased at all. It is not then necessary that we should force by legislation the industry of the country into any new direction, in

order to prevent it from glutting the corn market of Europe.

Mr. L. said, that he would return for a moment to the consideration of the question, how far the propriety "of leaving things to themselves," was affected by the opposite system which was pursued by foreign powers. If China should by law admit all our produce, manufactured or agricultural, it is plain enough that we could not advantageously send there any which we do not now send. Indeed he did not know that she prohibited any of our produce, but if she did, the prohibition was nominal, and it was evident that its removal could not change the policy which it was our interest to pursue. But, perhaps China belonged to a sphere of industry too different from ours, for the application of these principles. Would the admission of the products of our industry by the nations of Europe justify, in the estimation the friends of this bill, the reciprocal admission of theirs? Of what avail would it be to us that England should consent to take our manufactures? An engagement to do so would "keep its promise to the ear, but break it to the sense." Our bread stuffs she takes now only when wheat is above ten shillings, (when by the bye it is most our interest to sell it.) Suppose her laws permitted its importation when the price was low; would any friend of the bill avow that this policy, which would make the establishment of manufactures here a matter of somewhat more difficulty, would incline him to dispense with protecting duties in favour of our manufactures? He put it to the candor of his friends on the other side to say whether they would consent to a treaty by which the raw produce of America, and the manufactures of England should be exchanged without duty? They would not. Their objections to an intercourse unburthened by duties, would be still stronger than they now are, if Europe in affording a better market for our agriculture, should oppose still stronger difficulties to the establishment of manufactures.

Yet it was true that those who wished to impose heavier duties or prohibitions upon foreign manufactures, alleged that by doing so, the price of agricultural produce would be raised. It was equally true, and more strange, that a great many good people interested in agriculture, had believed the allegation. The error was susceptible of easy refutation. If, indeed, the allegation were just, the manufacturer would gain nothing by the change. If the prices of what he buys and sells rise in the same proportion, he might as well leave every thing as it is. But, the notion that the encouragement of manufactures will give a good price to the productions of agriculture is entirely fallacious. Whatever may be the domestic demand for our grain, the supply will exceed it.

As long as there is good land unoccupied, the price of its produce, if there be no foreign demand, will exceed by very little the value of the labor employed in obtaining it. Such must be the case with a permanent embargo. But when there is an export trade, although the quantity exported may bear a small proportion to that which is consumed in the country, the price of that small proportion must determine that of the whole. He did not say

that this was a reasonable theory, but a notorious fact. It was a plain deduction from these principles, that, in an extensive and thinly peopled country, restrictions upon trade would raise the price of manufactures, but not of grain. In a populous and fully cultivated country they would raise the price of grain, and not of manufactures. The last is the situation of England; the first that of the United States.

But the opinion that the establishment of manufactures would secure a good price for our agricultural produce, had made so many converts, that it would be interesting to enquire into the causes which had produced it. He could not dwell upon the subject. But, when manufactories and banks were established contemporaneously, (and this association he believed not to be uncommon;) when manufactories were established by the aid of borrowed capital, and profuse expenditure produced a local depreciation, the same effect was produced upon prices as an emission of paper money would have done. Every body was willing to spend; every body began to improve and build, and industry was stimulated to extraordinary activity, as it always is, by a depreciating currency. The remarks which he had made a few moments since, were enough to shew how perfectly illusory all duties upon importation must prove for the protection of our agricultural industry. The price of our agricultural products must be determined by that part of them which is exported, and must in consequence be absolutely unaffected by duties, or even prohibitions. Gentlemen might, therefore, lay duties, or withdraw them from cotton, wheat, or tobacco, and they would change nothing but the words of the statute books.

If it were ever right that government should impose its duties, with a view to the encouragement of particular branches of industry, Mr. L. said he had always believed that the two most reasonable modes of doing it were these: either to lay a very small and equal duty upon all manufactures, which would leave the relative inducement to engage in each unchanged; or to determine upon a very few branches which the government supposed to be best adapted to the situation of the country, or most necessary to its interest, and leaving others untaxed, (if revenue permitted it,) to direct the capital and labor of the country to these objects, where they might form a sufficient security against an excessive rise of prices. The last was the more vigorous plan; perhaps it was the wiser one. Yet it was best adapted to a condition very different from that of the United States: he meant that of an enlightened government and an ignorant people.

Whatever were the encouragements which should be afforded to manufactures, it had always hitherto been supposed that these were required to be given at their first establishment. The reasoning of his friend from Delaware supported this conclusion. Mr. Hamilton had said distinctly that, where any branch of industry continued long to require a bounty, it afforded proof that there were obstacles to its establishment which would make it unwise to persevere in it. Yet our system was not to continue bounties, but to increase them.

A strong argument, in the opinion of many gentlemen, was deduced from the large excess of importations above exportations, in order to shew that it was necessary to interfere, and prevent the people from buying more than they could pay for. He had hoped that this subject had been put to

rest by his friends from Virginia. An excessive importation may, indeed, take place for a year, although the price will usually be so much lowered by it that the amount of sales of a large, may not be greater than would have been those of a small importation. This disproportion, however, between the supply and demand, between the sales and the means of payment, continue but a short time. The price of American stocks here and in England; the present rate of exchange; sufficiently prove that our interference is unnecessary in fact, (as it must always be wrong in principle,) to adjust the balance of payments between the two countries.

So much had been said of this balance of importation above exports, that he might be excused for another remark.—Gentlemen knew the corrections, (and among them those required by a consideration of the profits of freights, commission, and trade) which ought to be applied to our custom-house accounts. These corrections would vary the balance very much, but they would leave a result in which he should feel little confidence. There is, indeed, a view very different from that which the friends of the bill have taken. The balance of importations above exports, for a series of years, may not only be considered as the proof of a profitable trade, but the measure of its profit. Our trade with foreign nations is one in which we obtain their produce in return for our produce or our labor, and the more valuable their produce is, the better bargain we have made. We should not as individuals; think it the evidence of unsuccessful business that we obtain in exchange for an article worth but 1000 dollars, one which was worth 2000. Yet this is exactly the thing which is called by politicians an unfavorable balance of trade. In such a system, if the vessels which carry out your productions, and are owned by your merchants, are sunk in the sea, or carried to a market where their sales pay only their expenses, no returns can be made, the balance becomes very favorable, and the politician is satisfied. If the cargoes reach a market which enables the merchant to bring back large returns, the balance becomes unfavorable.—A permanent balance of importation (in a nation that has no monies) must always be referred to the profits of its business. It was different with the excess of a single year. This, however, when it required correction, would, as his friends observed, always be corrected by the interests of trade without the interposition of the government. Could it be necessary that we should interfere by law to diminish importations, at the moment when we see that an unparalleled reduction is effecting, without our interference? The importation of the last quarter of the year 1819, was not more than two-thirds of that of the corresponding quarter of '18.

Mr. L. said that, in the detached observations which he had offered, he had endeavoured to remove the impression which some of the general arguments of the friends of the bill had made. The propositions which to his mind it appeared necessary that they should establish, they did not prove—they scarcely noticed. Grant that it is right that the government should encourage all the manufactures of the country, that considerable duties should be laid upon the importation of every article which can compete with our own fabrics. This we have done already. He believed that there was now no nation in the world which, in proportion to its income, paid so great a bounty to its manufacturers as the United States. Had it ever been contended,

not merely that manufactures should be encouraged, but that the bounty to be given should not be limited by any determined relation to the necessity of the manufacture, or the fair profits of the manufacturer? This mode of defending the bill was, perhaps, judicious; it was certainly embarrassing to its opponents. You say that it is important to encourage the manufacture of cotton. Be it so. We know that, however it be disguised, this can be done only at the expense of the other classes of society. Is it not proper to enquire what expense is necessary; what would be adequate? The operation of a protecting duty was simple, but he must detain the House for a few moments upon this subject, trite and familiar as it was. Where duties are laid upon the importation of articles of a kind which is not produced within the country, the additional price which is paid by the community is received into the public treasury, with a deduction only for the costs of collection. Where a duty is laid upon the importation of an article which is produced within the country, it will cause the same rise in its price as in its former case; but, of the additional sum which is paid by the community, a part will be received by the government, and a part by the manufacturer or producer of the domestic article. If, for instance, one hundred million of pounds of sugar were consumed annually in the U. States, and three-fourths of this amount were furnished by domestic industry, an additional duty of one cent on the pound would cause the consumers of sugar throughout the country to pay one million of dollars more in the price of the article, than they would otherwise do—would impose upon the people a new tax of one million; but of this sum, less than 250,000 would be received by the government, and 750,000 by the sugar planter.

The difference between the gentleman from Pennsylvania and himself, in respect to the information which a tariff should be founded, was explained by this case. He thought, if Congress determined to encourage the production of sugar by an additional bounty, that it was bound carefully to enquire what sum was necessary for this object. To justify the tax, it was necessary to determine that the nation had such an interest in the establishment of the additional sugar plantations to which the bill was expected to give rise; that it was worth its while to contribute annually 750,000 dollars to their support, and that a contribution of less than 750,000 dollars would not cause their establishment. If the bounty in question were greater than the value of the object justified, in any rational view of public policy, we applied the money of the country injudiciously; but if a less bounty would produce the effect which we desired, we gave it away without object and without excuse. It was in this view that he had asked of the committee of manufactures information to shew what were the duties upon foreign importation which would give to our manufactures a reasonable profit on their capital and labor. Every thing beyond this was not a liberal encouragement of manufactures, but a profuse and capricious donation of the public money. Suppose that the 750,000 dollars which, on the supposition which he had made, were given to the sugar planters, instead of being paid to them by the consumers, were raised by a direct tax, and then paid, as a bounty out of the public treasury. This would form no distinction in the principle of the donation. Mr. Hamilton had said, with perfect correctness, that "as often as a duty upon a foreign article make an addition to its price, it causes an

extra expense to the community for the benefit of the domestic manufacture. A bounty does no more." The information which he had wished was, whether this bounty was to be given to men whose profits and wages were now less than those of the rest of the community; and what were the profits which it was estimated that this bounty would procure them; in a word, how much public money we should give, and what was the necessity of giving it. The house, in rejecting his resolution, had determined that the enquiry was useless or impracticable. They had refused all evidence as to the proper degree of encouragement, and left the defence of the bill to the same vague considerations which would support a duty of 100 per cent. as well as one of 40. They took, they knew not how much, from the people; they gave, they knew not how much, to the manufacturer.

The chairman of the committee of manufactures had intimated that information such as he had asked had never been given. He might answer, that it ought to have been. But the chairman was mistaken: It had been. Mr. L. read the following sentences from Mr. Dallas's report of 1816, on the revision of the tariff:—"The amount of the duties should be such as will enable the manufacturer to meet the importer in the American market upon equal terms of profit and loss." "There still, however, remains a diversity of opinion as to the amount which will be competent, and the aim of this report will be to strike the medium which appears to be best established from all the information which has been collected." This sentence proved that the rates of duty proposed in the report of 1816, were founded on evidence of the degree of encouragement, which would enable "the manufacturer to meet the importer." That evidence was laid before the house. It contained, substantially, and indeed much more fully than he should require it, all the information in respect to the state of our manufactures in 1816, which it was the object of his resolution to obtain in 1830. He should have occasion to advert to this information hereafter. It proved, at least, that the object of his resolution was practicable, and had hitherto been supposed important and necessary.

The practicability of its object, too, although the Speaker had appeared to doubt it, had been proved by the statements which he had made in respect to two northern manufactures. If the house were determined to give adequate protection to any branch of manufactures, the same kind of information possessed by the Speaker, as to the manufactures of which he had spoken, if extended to 15 or 20 others in different parts of the country, would enable us to know what bounty was necessary and adequate to their support. That bounty ought not to be increased to maintain the unskilful and imprudent; and he admitted that (if granted at all) it ought not to be contracted so as to afford support only to an establishment which had peculiar advantages beyond the reach of imitation. He did not know, however, of any such in the United States. In examining the degree of encouragement which it was proposed in this bill to give to American manufactures, we were naturally reminded of the view which had been taken of the subject by Mr. Hamilton, whose principles are considered as sound, even by the friends of this tariff. He, at least, was able to elevate his view to the just importance of manufacturing industry. Let us see the price which he proposed to pay for its support. The general tenor of his argument, and indeed the particular quo-

tation which had been made, sufficiently prove Mr. Hamilton's opinion to have been, that whatever bounties were given to domestic manufactures should be highest at first. The duties, therefore, which he proposed in his celebrated report on manufactures were such as he thought sufficient then, and such as according to his principles, ought to be sufficient now. In forming his opinion, he did not overlook the advantages which the risk and expense of importation from abroad give to the American manufacturer. This protection of distance he estimates at from 15 to 30 per cent. Mr. Lowndes said he would state, without a formal comparison, a few of the duties which Mr. Hamilton proposed for the encouragement of manufactures. On manufactures of leather he proposed a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He was willing that cotton goods should be "raised to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." On glass, he considered the duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as a considerable encouragement, and thought that, if any thing further were given, it ought to be by a direct bounty out of the public treasury. Ten per cent on paper and gunpowder he thought a competent protection, and he proposed the same duty on manufactures of iron and brass. His principles were best explained by the application which he had himself made of them; and the enormity of the bounty which it was now proposed to give to the manufacturers could not be more strongly exhibited than by comparing it with that which was considered as adequate by so zealous and able an advocate of manufacturing industry as Mr. Hamilton. Duties four times as great as he recommended were now levied upon many of the most important articles, and were discovered to be insufficient and nugatory!

What he regretted, Mr. L. said, most, in the course pursued by the committee of manufactures, was, that they suggested no standard by which the sufficiency of the encouragement which they proposed could be tested, and promised, therefore, no limitation to the burden which might be imposed upon the country.—The chairman of that committee had, indeed, more than once, directed our attention to the duties imposed by the laws of Russia, France, and England—models which we had not learned to imitate. It was not extraordinary that governments which were obliged to drain every resource of revenue should lay heavier duties upon importation than we had done. There was no part, however, of their system of exaction in which we approached so near them as in our duties upon commerce. In attempting any comparison between their duties and those of the United States, it was obviously necessary to consider the difference of our circumstances.

In estimating the protection afforded to national manufactures by duties upon importation, it was not the absolute amount of duty that constituted a protection to the home manufacturer, in the case in which there was an internal duty upon the article, but only the excess of the foreign over the internal duty. Thus, if, in 1786, (before the commercial treaty between France and England,) the duty payable upon the importation of English hardware into France had been 50 per cent—as the internal tax upon French hardware, if his memory did not greatly deceive him, was about 30 per cent on its value—the true amount of the protecting duty would have been but 20 per cent.—The inquirer, then, who should wish to know the real encouragement afforded by foreign duties must apply to all of them the correction deduced from this principle; and it would probably reduce many of them, which ap-

peared greatly to exceed our own, to an amount less than was exacted even under the present law in the United States.

The high duties of European nations, when they were not counteracted in the manner which he had mentioned, were mitigated by another circumstance, which could not be neglected in an estimate of their burdens. In nations of the same age, not very unequal in the density of population, and in their improvement in the arts, if trade were perfectly free, a large proportion of the necessities of life, including nearly all the coarser manufactures would be cheapest at home. A duty upon these would, in such countries, be nearly nominal. Among the European nations, too, if trade were free, the whole amount of importations would bear a much less proportion to the whole income of the country than in the United States. He supposed it certain that the importations of England, commercial as she was, were not half as great, in proportion to her income, as were those of the United States at present; nor were our importations now by any means as large, in proportion to our wealth, as in an earlier period of our existence. The duties which we pay now would have been intolerable 40 years ago, and European duties, however high, upon the articles imported, do not fall heavily upon the subject, because those articles form but a small part of his expenses.

If he did not exaggerate the deductions which the considerations which he had mentioned, require us to make from the duties of foreign nations, in comparing them with our own, he believed that no people on earth would be found to pay, in proportion to their income, so large a bounty for the support of manufacturing industry as those of the U. States.—He had not, however, had time to examine the details of the subject with any minuteness.

Unfair as the comparison between the duties of foreign nations and our own, must be, unless the corrections which he had adverted to were made, it might well astonish the house to find that there were many articles, and important ones too, our duties on which, as proposed by the bill before the house, might vie with those of France and England, without recurring to any of the considerations of which he had spoken. He would notice a few of them.

In France, machines of all kinds, including ploughs, pay 15 per cent.; by the proposed bill they will pay here 20 per cent. Wrought anchors pay in France 10 francs the hundred kilogrammes; by the proposed bill they will pay here \$3 33 the cwt.—more than three times the French duty.—Hosiery in France 2 francs the kilogramme; by the proposed bill it will be here 33 per cent.

Whatever may be the disposition of England to sustain her manufactures by protecting duties, she has been obliged, in her late war with France, by necessity, and not judgment, for the support of her revenue, and not her industry, to make these duties still higher than they were before. But our manufactures might be gratified by discovering that some of the duties now proposed were higher even than those of England. The superior liberality at least of this country can hardly be denied by them. England, assisted by a most rigorous system of collection, has raised her duties, from the necessity of increasing her revenue, by all possible means. The U. States propose to raise theirs with the just conviction that they will impair their revenue.

In England the duty upon cast iron is 26*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. the hundred pounds value; by the proposed bill it will be 150 cents the cwt.—(he supposed about 40

or 50 per cent. ad valorem.) Nankin, for home consumption, is, in England, 32½ per cent. ad valorem. By the proposed bill it will here be 40. Muslins are, in England, 32½ and cottons not enumerated, 62 per cent. By the proposed bill our duties on these articles will be from 40 to 130 per cent.

Much as such a course of observation had been discountenanced, he must now advert to another topic. What were the duties which would afford to the manufacturers reasonable wages and profits? If, at a time when every interest in the state was depressed, it was right that all the rest should contribute to the support of one, at least it should be only to its necessary and reasonable support. He had before spoken of the evidence laid before the House in 1816. That evidence had led Congress to the conclusion that, where the capital was prudently invested, and the manufactory conducted with common skill, a duty of 25 per cent. on cotton and woollen manufactures would sufficiently protect those of our own country. But the circumstances of the times now make the duty of 25 per cent. much more effectual than it has hitherto been. The appreciation of our money is, in this view, all important. In the specific duties this is obvious. If, for instance, the duty of 3 cents upon the pound of sugar, were a competent protection four years ago; the advanced value of money, of which the same nominal amount would produce much more of every article of consumption, must make it now much higher than is necessary. But, even in relation to the articles which pay a duty on their value, if the fall in the value of our produce be greater (as it certainly is) than in the articles which we import from foreign countries, although the nominal duty be unchanged, the real tax is much larger than it was. We still pay 6½ cents upon a yard of the coarsest cotton; but the same amount will purchase much more of provisions or labor than it would do formerly. The duty, then, is substantially increased; and if it has hitherto, with exaggerated prices and an unsound currency, proved inadequate, would it not be prudent, now that a change in these circumstances gives to the present tariff its fair operation, to wait the result of that operation?

The depression in the price of property and labor was confined to no section of the country, and to no branch of business.—The manufacturer, like the farmer, should estimate his profits not on the supposed value of his capital four years ago, not on what it then cost, or would then have sold for, but at the price which it would now cost, or would now sell for. Against this general depression we could not indemnify him; but there was a loss peculiar to manufacturers, from which no government could insure them, and which many of them felt very severely at this time. Whilst an improvement in machinery is useful to the country in which it is made, its immediate effect is often greatly to impair the capital of manufacturers. The old machinery must be abandoned. What relief would higher duties give to the owners of manufactories which had not adopted the improved machinery? It might encourage them to struggle a little longer with inferior machinery, but without permanent benefit, even to themselves; it must produce a real waste of the capital and labor of the nation.

Among the causes which at this moment depress the manufacturing industry of the country, one of the most considerable is to be found in that general diminution of income which affects the demand both for foreign and domestic productions. The

carriage makers, for instance, suffer probably as much from want of employment as any other class of manufacturers. There is here no foreign competition. It is a distress from which our tariff can give no relief. On the contrary, its effect must be by increasing the expenses, and diminishing, therefore, the clear income of the community, greatly to increase the difficulties of all those classes of manufacturers who suffer from a diminished demand.

His friends who had preceded him had referred to instances of manufactories which were prosperous even now, when every other industry was depressed, and particularly to that of an establishment (at Waltham,) which was understood to have divided 12 per cent. and reserved a considerable surplus. The committee of manufactures, in declining to give any detail statements upon the subject, had obliged him to resort to the sources of information which were within his reach. He should state to the House the opinion which his inquiries had enabled him to form, and he should state it in the words of a letter written by a man who was as well acquainted with the subject as any other in the United States. [Mr. Baldwin asked the name of the writer, which Mr. L. declined to give.] "Many manufacturers have been ruined, and many others lost money, but very little reflection and enquiry will make the cause evident. Perhaps the business has been conducted to the best advantage, when, in addition to the want of capital and experience, is added that of incorporated companies, where the principal meaning of the charter is to exonerate each holder of the stock, as well as the President, Directors, and Agents, from individual responsibility, for any debts due from the company. Consequently, in all purchases for the establishment, the agent would be obliged to give at least 10 per cent. more than the individuals could purchase it on their own responsibility.

"But, perhaps a greater cause of loss may be in the general fall in the price of every article used by manufacturers and in all kinds of manufactured goods, whether foreign or home-made, and also in the price of labor and improvement in machinery, compelling those that did not sell immediately on the goods being finished, to make heavy losses, for we suppose it is admitted that the cost of making any goods of which cotton or wool is the article of chief value, is not more than half the cost of making the same goods in 1816.

"In order more clearly to shew the consequences of not immediately selling, we give the following example, arising in our own business. We supply a maker of candlewick with cotton, and sell all the wick he makes, and during the year 1818, the business having been good for many years, he, with others engaged in the same business, had accumulated a considerable quantity on hand, which, during the year 1818, had been worth 50 to 55 cents per lb. when the raw material of cotton was worth from 30 to 33 cents, paying the spinner an average of 20 cents the lb. for his labor and expenses; but on the 1st of August last, the same kind of cotton could be purchased in this market at 15 cents the pound, and the price of wick had fallen so low as 31 cents, but yet paying 16 cents for the labor and expenses, which, we are convinced, is a profitable business. Hence, on the 1st of August last year, he could afford to sell his wick at what the cotton of his 1818 wick cost him, and at the time we were selling his new made wick at a profit, that made the year before was selling at a loss of the whole cost of making; and many kinds of

American goods have fallen in nearly the same proportion from the same cause and some still greater from other causes; for instance, we suppose the price of weaving is not at this time more than half as high as it was in 1816, owing to the introduction of power-looms, and the general low price of living.

"Next, let us examine the cost of four yards of American brown shirtings, three quarters of a yard wide, (which may be considered the staple of American cotton goods,) say the present price of cotton is 16 cents, that will make four yards of shirting:

12 cents for spinning the same.

8 cents for weaving four yards, at 2 cents per yard.

4 cents for all other expenses, say commissions, freights, carriages, packages, &c.

"Added is 40 cents for making 4 yards, equal to 10 cents the yard, and when the same goods are now worth from 12 to 12 1/2 cents the yard cash at auction, leaving a profit to the manufacturer of at least 20 per cent. and when we reflect that the coarsest piece of cotton goods of the same size cannot be imported without paying duty at the rate of 6 1/2 cents the square yard equal to 4 60 3/4 cents, or within about 1 1/2 cents of the whole cost of making the same piece of goods; hence we must be satisfied that foreign competition is very much out of the question, for the lowest rates of duty on any kind of cotton or woollen goods (made to any extent in this country) is 27 1/2 per cent. on the value at the place of manufactory.

"We do believe, that manufacturing establishments well conducted, and the goods immediately sold at auction, have averaged a profit of at least 10 per cent. during the last two years, when, at the same time, imported cotton and woollen goods have averaged a loss of at least 15 per cent."

Mr. Lowndes said, that he would say no more as to the degree of additional encouragements which was required by our manufactories.

But he had a few observations to make as to the principles which appeared to have been adopted in the tariff proposed by the committee of manufactures.

Among the most objectionable of these was, what he considered as the proscription of the East India trade, the principal articles afforded by which were subjected to a duty of 40 per cent.

The ground of this proscription, was, that the East Indies took from us scarcely any article of our produce.

He had occasion on a former day to advert to one of the most interesting branches of this trade, to that in which neither specie nor produce was exported, but in which the enterprise and industry of our seamen formed the capital which a harsh and, he thought, a mistaken policy, would condemn to inactivity. They took nothing from your country. But they explored the most distant seas—they climbed almost inaccessible rocks—they pursued their hardy and dangerous employments between the ports of savage nations, and earned by their freights a capital which fortune had not given them. You would encourage manufacturing industry because it was productive; but, the industry of the brave men of whom he spoke, created the capital which they brought back to our country. They did not twirl the spindle, or fling the shut-

tle, but when they brought home a cargo of India fabrics, (peculiarly suited to the wants of the poorest class of our society) was their industry less worthy of encouragement because they had made these fabrics on tempestuous seas, or because, in pursuing their own interests, they acquired and perfected the naval excellence which made them our pride and our defence? We gave them the hospitality of our ports; they might take in wood and water, and sail in search of some strange land, from which these products of American industry are not yet excluded! The policy appeared to him unjust and cruel.

But the other branches of East Indian trades merited encouragement, rather than prohibition. He had already spoken of the fallacy which represented a trade to be injurious, in which the imports exceeded the exports, and the East Indian trade furnished a good illustration of the fallacy. It takes, if you please, nothing of domestic produce from us; it gave to the consumption of the country in the year when he had last examined the subject, an amount of goods to the value of five millions. How were these goods paid for? Specie had undoubtedly been shipped both from America and Europe for their purchase. But our sales of East India articles in foreign countries had exceeded the amount of our purchases in India. Five millions of goods then consumed in the United States were paid for by the mere profits of the trade. Three thousand seamen, supported by the requisite capital, added in one year five millions to the clear amount of national income. There was no exportation of our produce to pay for these fabrics, because they were paid for already: they were the acquisitions of American industry.

He would not detain the house by talking of the injury which the Indian trade was supposed to do us by draining our specie. How the purchase of merchandize, either in India or any where else, of which we kept the part that we wanted, and sold the remainder for more than we gave for the whole, could lessen the specie which we retained, it would be a little difficult to explain.

Another characteristic of the proposed tariff, is its raising the duty on articles which had been lowered in the act of 1816, because from their small bulk, in proportion to their value, it had been found impracticable to prevent their being smuggled into the country. Watches, Jewellery, and Laces, had, among other articles, been reduced to 7 1/2 per cent. The reduction had been proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and adopted by the House on this ground. Had any examination into the fact been made by the committee of manufactures? They had raised other articles also which were known even at the present duties to have been introduced clandestinely—for instance, coffee from 5 to 6 cents, segars from 2 1/2 to 5 dollars. A large class of articles, of which the supply is almost exclusively afforded by the industry of the country, and on which an increased duty if it have any effect at all can only have that of unnecessarily increasing the price, is taxed in the proposed tariff considerably higher than now. Thus, carriages and furniture are raised from 30 to 35 per cent. boots from 1 1/2 to 2 dollars; candles from 3 to 5 cents; molasses from 5 to 10 cents; nails from 4 to 5; soap from 3 to 4; brown sugar from 3 to 4. He might make the list much longer.

It might have been expected that articles essential to the equipment of ships would have been protected from an increase of duties by a double

motive. As materials of our most important manufacture, they were entitled to the favor of the committee; but there was in regard to some of them another reason for light duties—that it was necessary to prevent the practice of ships being sent out imperfectly equipped and completing their equipment in foreign ports. Even under the present duties this was sometimes done. The committee, however, had disregarded both these considerations. As instances of this, iron in bars was raised from 75 cents to 1 25; iron spikes from 3 to 4; hemp from 1 50 to 2 50; tarred cables and cordage from 3 to 4. The tendency of the whole system to discourage our commerce with foreign nations, and by making returns more difficult to sink yet lower the price of every article of our produce, could not be disguised. He would not enlarge upon it; but he could not sit down without adverting to a consideration on which the house could not reflect too seriously.

The best security for the fair collection of the revenue was to be found in the force of public opinion. The activity of our little navy, if it were to be employed in such a service, would furnish but a poor substitute for it. In the fair collection of the public revenue the interests as well as the principles of our citizens co-operated with the efforts of the general government. They knew that they must contribute to the support of that government and the impost was the easiest mode of contribution: To evade it was to defraud the government of its just dues, and to expose themselves to the necessity of a much more inconvenient contribution. But could it be expected when the object of duties was not to obtain revenue, but to enhance the profits of a particular class of society, that the same scruples would prevail universally? In purchasing an article intended to be prohibited, the loss would fall upon the manufacturer, who might be considered as the object of unjust and inordinate favor, rather than upon the revenue. The law ought to be obeyed because it was the law. But for himself he had no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the present duties, enforced as they were by a general approbation of their objects, furnished a much better encouragement to the manufacturer than higher duties which should be believed by half the nation to be partial and unjust.

Mr. L. said that he knew he had trespassed quite unreasonably upon the time of the House, but he believed the bill under consideration to be injurious to the government, oppressive to the people, and dangerous to the stability of manufacturing industry.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH PROSPERITY.

Extracts from the Number of the Edinburgh Review for January, 1820.

"The first great war measure, by which we were to be protected from the evils of the war expenditure, was the new settling of the Sinking Fund in the year 1793: and when we say, that the whole plan, from the beginning to the end, has proved a mere deception, we mean to impute no improper motives to its authors, but only to state the fact as it ought to be stated,—and as it may be shown in a single sentence that it must be stated in order to express the truth: for it is a fact equally decisive and notorious, that this sinking fund has been formed ever since the year 1773, wholly out of the loans which have been annually borrowed.

The only service it has performed, has been that of enabling ministers to make loans with greater facility, and to persuade the public to bear taxation with more good humour, while it has encouraged a most profuse expenditure, and actually cost the public, for the expenses of the commissioners and office, the sum of 187,000*l*."

"Now, let us see what have been the prices, since 1797, of the same commodities.

"The prices of the last 22 years have exceeded those of the preceding 161 years by about 100 per cent.

"The taxes are now greater than they were in 1791, by 32,952,674*l* or something more than two-thirds.

"It appears, that the annual charge for the Funded and Unfunded debt is greater now, than it was in 1790, by 36,362,862*l*. and that the Peace establishment for the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous services for 1819, exceeds that for 1790 by 13,991,261*l*. Thirdly, and lastly, as to the Public Debt, it will be found, by reference to official documents, that in the year 1792, the whole debt was 238,231,218*l*. and that it amounted, excluding Ireland, to 700,000,000*l*. at the beginning of last year.

"The following may be considered as an accurate exposition of the actual state of our income and expenditure at the commencement of 1819. The total income of the United Kingdom for this year, taking the produce of the taxes as in 1818, would be 54,061,937*l* which sum, set against the expenditure of 67,759,882*l* makes the Deficiency of the income 13,725,945*l*. for the year 1819."

"The grand result of all our finance plans is shortly this—First, that instead of being relieved by the Peace from taxation, by the repeal of all war taxes, Customs war duties have been made permanent to the amount of 2,769,000*l*. Excise war duties have been continued to 1821, to the amount of 3,500,000*l*. and they also must be made permanent, to accomplish the object of these resolutions: while, in addition to these war taxes so continued, new taxes have been imposed, estimated to pay into the Exchequer the net sum of 3,190,000*l*. Secondly, that instead of an efficient sinking fund of 23,195,900*l*. to reduce the national debt, we have one, on paper, of 5,000,000*l*. but according to the probable production of the revenue, one which will fall very far short of this sum."

"The total expenditure upon the public departments that are employed to manage and audit the public money, after it has come into the Exchequer appears to amount to 1,100,000*l* a year."

"After having witnessed the facility with which the public was led to approve of the application of the Sinking Fund to the current expenses of the State, we should not be at all surprised to find reduction of the dividends become a topic of general speculation, and even a favorite proposition."

"The gross revenue, after deducting the interest on the funded debt, and allowances, was 58,000,000*l*. The collecting was, and still is, something less than 10 per cent."

"In Great Britain, the taxes amount to 10*l*. a head."

"The first war that occurs, will be with a capital depressed by the directly obstruct industry: with a capital able to pay the dividends on its debt, not only undiminished, but augmented."

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"Insurrections of the most sanguinary and ferocious nature would be the immediate consequence of any very sudden change in the system of the Poor-Laws; not partial, like those which proceed from an impeded or decaying state of manufactures, but as universal as the Poor-Laws themselves, and as ferocious as insurrections always are which are led on by hunger and despair. Let no man hope to get rid of these laws, even in the gentlest and wisest method, without a great deal of misery, and some risk of tumult."

"In all cases the nutritive quality of the food is injured, by the artificial ingredients inter-mixed with it; and when these ingredients, as frequently happens, are of a poisonous quality, they endanger the health and even the life of all to whom they are vended."

"Among the number of substances used in domestic economy, which are now very generally found sophisticated, may be distinguished—tea, coffee, bread, beer, wine, spirituous liquors, salad oil, pepper, vinegar, mustard, cream, and other articles of subsistence.—Indeed, it would be difficult to mention a single article of food which is not to be met with in an adulterated state; and there are some substances which are scarcely ever to be procured genuine."

"Those, by whom the offence of adulterating articles of provision is committed, are generally creditable and wealthy individuals."

"After a lapse of five or six years, it cannot truly be affirmed, that any considerable improvement has taken place in any branch of industry. At this moment they are all nearly as much depressed as ever. Pauperism, instead of being diminished, is rapidly increasing: nor without some very decided change in our domestic policy, is there the least reason to expect any material improvement in the condition of the great body of the people."

"According to the late Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws, the average expenditure of 1813, 1814 and 1815, amounted to no less than 8,164,496*l*—a sum which the Committee states must since have been very greatly increased; and which, we believe, would now be underrated at TEN millions."

"The condition of the great bulk of the people—of all who must depend on the wages of labour for support—is at this moment decidedly worse than at any former period."

"It appears, from accounts printed by order of the House of Commons, that the gross produce of the revenue of Great Britain, for the twenty years, commencing 5th January, 1797, and ending 5th January, 1817, amounted to the almost incredible sum of 1,290,180,529*l*. But, besides the enormous levies thus compulsorily wrung from the necessities of the poor, and the overburdened revenue of the rich, an additional sum of about 450 millions of real capital was borrowed by government, and added to our funded and floating debts."

"The sum of THIRTY-TWO millions—a sum greater than the entire rental of all the land in the empire—is annually drawn from the pockets of the industrious classes, to support that numerous class of persons whose capitals having been lent to the State are, in consequence, destitute of any other means of subsistence."

"A British workman might if he were permitted to buy his food in the cheapest market, purchase a quarter of wheat for 4*s*. or at most 5*s*. but the prohibition against importation, by raising its price to 8*s*. has precisely the same effect, as if he were to pay a direct tax of 3*s*. or 3*s* 6*d*. on every quarter

he consumes; and averaging the consumption of each individual at three fourths of a quarter of wheat, it is really equivalent to a capitation tax of 22*s* 6*d*. or to more than three times the sum paid by the people of Holland, as a composition for the tax on bread."

"But on the hypothesis that the present income of the United Kingdom is equal to 350 millions, it is plain that very little loss than one-third of the entire revenue of the industrious classes is swallowed up by taxation, and by the bounty to the growers of corn; or, which is the same thing, every poor man is obliged to labour two days out of six, not for the benefit of himself or his master, but in order to satisfy the demands of the Treasury; and this in addition to one-third of the profits of all fixed capital, such as land, machinery, &c. and of professional incomes devoted to the same purpose! Surely it is unnecessary to seek elsewhere for an explanation of the difficulties in which we are involved."

"It is this inordinate extension of the public burdens which has cast down respectable tradesmen, farmers and manufacturers, from a state of affluence and independence, to one of embarrassment, poverty, and misery—which has rendered it next to impossible for a young, healthy, able-bodied labourer to support himself by his unaided exertions."

"Pallatives may delay, but it is not in the nature of things that they should be able to avert the final triumph of pauperism. Nothing but a very great reduction of the demands made by Government, and the total repeal of the worst of all possible taxes—the tax on corn, can save the country from the abyss of poverty and misery to which, if it has not already arrived, it is fast hastening."

"The average price of corn in Britain, is more than three times its average price in Kentucky; but a Kentucky farmer, with a capital of 1000*l*. would, notwithstanding, derive from it at least as much profit as he could derive from the capital of 3000*l*. or 4000*l*. employed in farming in this country."

"The military peace establishment of Great Britain and Ireland in 1792, was fixed at 27,000 regular troops; and the whole aggregate force employed at home and in the colonies, amounted only to 44,000, and the expense to about two millions. Now, however, exclusive of a yeomanry force of between 60,000 and 70,000, which had no existence previous to the late war, we maintain 60,000 regular troops in England and Ireland only; and the entire expenses of the military department is at least equal to seven millions!"

EXPORTS OF COTTON AND RICE,

From Charleston to Foreign Ports, in May 1820.

Where Exported.	Bales Up-land Cotton.	Bales S. I. Cotton.	Barrels Rice.	Amo't.
Liverpool,	9775	2022	2452	558,358
Greenock,	2059	608	50	149,055
Belfast,	277	118		23,661
Havre,	2614	123	415	154,608
Bordeaux,	33		358	8,200
Nantz,	429		62	21,000
Amsterdam,	1377	8	2846	101,122
Hamburg,	344		544	26,572
Bremen,	100		1067	23,255
E. Market,	1619	125	356	93,433
Cuba,			811	13,505
TOTAL,	18,627	2994	8951	1,271,749

Exported in 23 ships, 12 brigs, 4 schooners.

Bonaparte.

We are indebted to the National Gazette for the following extract copied from "Memoirs of the private life, &c. of Napoleon in 1815, by M. Fleury de Chaboulon, ex-secretary to the Emperor Napoleon, &c."

RETREAT from the BATTLE of WATERLOO.

The cessation of the firing, and the precipitate retreat of the wreck of the army, too powerfully confirmed to us the fatal issue of the battle.

The capture and plundering of the baggage of the army had suspended for a moment the enemy's pursuit. They came up with us at Quatre Bras, and fell upon our equipage. At the head of the convoy marched the military chest, and after it our carriage. Five other carriages, that immediately followed us, were attacked and sabred. Ours, by miracle, effected its escape. Here were taken the Emperor's clothes: the superb diamond necklace, that the princess Borghese had given him; and his landau, that in 1813 had escaped the disasters of Moscow.

The Prussians, raging in pursuit of us, treated with unexampled barbarity those unfortunate beings, whom they were able to overtake. Except a few steady old soldiers, most of the rest had thrown away their arms, and were without defence; but they were not the less massacred without pity. Four Prussians killed General in cold blood, after having taken from him his arms. Another general, whose name also I cannot call to mind, surrendered to an officer: and this officer had the cowardice still more than the cruelty, to run him through the body. A colonel, to avoid falling into their hands, blew out his brains. Twenty other officers, of various ranks, imitated the example. An officer of cuirassiers, seeing them approach, said: "They shall have neither me nor my horse." With one of his pistols he shot his horse dead; with the other, himself.* A thousand acts of despair, not less heroic, illustrate this fatal day.

We continued our retreat to Charleroi. The further we advanced, the more difficult it became. They who preceded us, whether to impede the enemy, or through treachery, obstructed the way, and at every step we had to break through barricades. When

* This circumstance was told to me, but the following I witnessed myself. A cuirassien, in the heat of the battle, had both his arms disabled with sabre wounds: "I will go and get myself dressed," said he, foaming with rage: "if I cannot use my arms, I'll use my teeth."—I'll eat them.

halting for a moment, I heard cries and moanings at one side. I went to the place, and found they came from a ditch on the road side, into which two large waggon loads of wounded men had been overturned. These unfortunate people, tumbled in a heap under the waggons, that were upon them, implored the compassion of those who passed by; but their feeble voices, drowned by the noise of the carriages, had not been heard. We all set to work, and succeeded in extricating them from their tombs. Some were still breathing; but the greater number were stifled. The joy of these poor wretches affected us to tears; but it was of short duration—we were forced to leave them.

Still pursued and harassed by the enemy, we arrived at Charleroi, which place was so encumbered, and in such confusion that we were obliged to leave behind us our carriage and our baggage.

By chance M. de Brassao and I took the road to Philippeville. We learned, with a joy of which we did not think ourselves any longer susceptible, that the Emperor was in the town. We ran to him. When he saw me, he condescended to present me his hand. I bathed it with my tears. The Emperor himself could not suppress his emotion: a large tear escaping from his eyes, betrayed the efforts of his soul.

He afterwards dictated to me two letters to Prince Joseph. One, intended to be communicated to the council of ministers, related but imperfectly the fatal issue of the battle: the other, for the prince alone, gave him a recital, unhappily too faithful, of the rout of the army.

While I was dispatching these letters, he dictated to M. de Bassano instructions for the major-general. When he had finished, he threw himself on a sorry bed, and ordered preparations to be made for our departure.

A postchaise half broken to pieces, a few waggons and some straw, had just been prepared, as nothing better was to be had, for Napoleon and us; when some carriages belonging to Marshal Soult entered the town. These we seized upon.

The Emperor stopped beyond Rocroi, to take some refreshment. We were all in a pitiable state: our eyes swell'd with tears, our countenances haggard, our clothes covered with blood or dust, rendered us objects of compassion and horror to one another.

We arrived at Laon. The Emperor alighted at the foot of the walls. Our defeat was already known.

Some peasants came round us, and gaped at us with stupid looks: they often shouted, "Long live the Emperor!" but these shouts

His first intention was to retire to England and there place himself under the protection of hospitality and the laws. He opened his mind to the Dukes of Bassano and Vicenza. The former did not appear to relish this determination. The latter without condemning or approving it, advised him, if he persisted in taking this step, to go on board a smuggling vessel; and, as soon as he landed, to present himself to the magistrate of the place and declare, that he came with confidence to invoke the protection of the English nation. Napoleon appeared to relish this advice; but the counsels of other persons induced him to incline to the United States. He then sent to the minister of marine for an account of the American vessels, that were in our ports. The minister sent it to him immediately. "Take notice, sire," he wrote, "of the vessel at Havre. Her captain is in my antechamber; his postchaise at my door. He is ready to depart. I will answer for him. To-morrow, if you please, you may be out of the reach of your enemies."

M. de Vicenza pressed the Emperor, to avail himself of this opportunity.

Several Americans, who were at Paris, wrote of their own accord to Napoleon, to offer him their services, and assure him, in the name of their fellow-citizens at Washington with the sentiments of respect, admiration, and devotion, that were his due. Napoleon refused their offers.

The government, however, yielding to the continual importunities of the deputies, and of M. Fouché, caused it to be hinted to him, that it was proper he should come to some decision. The Emperor then declared, that he was ready to repair with his family to the United States; and that he would embark, as soon as two frigates were placed at his disposal.

M. Fouché and his followers did not stop at the first precautionary step; and, to deprive the emperor of the means "of forming plots," they took from him in succession, under pretence or other, most of the officers, on whose attachment he could depend.

I was not forgotten; and I received orders, as well as my colleague, Baron Eain, to repair to Paris. I informed the Emperor of it. "Go," said he: "you have my consent. You will know what passes there, and will acquaint me with it."

As soon as I was at liberty, I flew to Malmaison, Napoleon, who felt himself obliged by this continual posting, always condescended to receive me immediately. I gave him an account of every thing that could be interesting to him. I did not omit to inform him, that the enemy was already master of part of the environs of Paris; and that it was import-

ant for him, to be on his guard. "I shall have no fear to-morrow," said he to me; "I have promised Decres to set out, and I will be gone to-night: Your Majesty is resolved, then," I replied, "to depart?" "What would you have me do here now?" "Your Majesty is right: but" "But what? would you have me remain?" "Sire, I confess to your Majesty, I cannot look on your departure without alarm." "In fact the path is difficult; but fortune and a fair wind" "Ah, Sire! fortune is no longer in our favour: besides, whither will your Majesty go?" "I will go to the United States. They will give me land, or I will buy some, and we will cultivate it. I will end, where mankind began: I will live on the produce of my fields and my flock." "That will be very well. Sire: but do you think, that the English will suffer you, to cultivate your fields in peace?" "Why not? what harm could I do them?" "What harm, Sire? Has your Majesty then forgotten, that you have made England tremble? As long as you are alive, Sire, or at least at liberty, she will dread the effects of your hatred and your genius. You were perhaps less dangerous to her on the degraded throne of Louis XVIII, than you would be in the United States. The Americans love and admire you: you have a great influence over them; and you would perhaps excite them to enterprises fatal to England." "What enterprises? The English well know, that the Americans would lose their lives to a man in defence of their native soil; but they are not fond of making war abroad. They are not yet arrived at a pitch, to give the English any serious uneasiness. Some future day perhaps, they will be the avengers of the seas; but this period, which I might have had it in my power to accelerate, is now at a distance. The Americans advance to greatness but slowly." "Admitting, that the Americans can give England no serious uneasiness at this moment, your presence in the United States will at least furnish it with an occasion, to stir up Europe against them. The combined powers will consider their work as imperfect, till you are in their possession; and they will compel the Americans, if not to deliver you up, at least to expel you from their territory." "Well! then I will go to Mexico. I shall there find patriots, and will put myself at their head." "Your Majesty forgets, that they have leaders already: people bring about revolutions for themselves, not for others; and the chiefs of the independents would be disconcerted by your Majesty's presence, if they did not oblige you to seek an asylum elsewhere." "Well, I will leave them as they are, and go to Caraccas, if I do not

annoyed us. In prosperity they are pleasing; after a battle lost they wound the heart.

The Emperor retired into a room with M. de Bassano and me, and after having despatched fresh orders to Marshal Soult on the rallying and movements of the army, he put the finishing hand to the bulletin of Mont St. Jean, which had been already sketched at Philippeville. When it was ended, he sent for the grand marshal, General Drouot, and the other aides-de-camp.

I read this new twenty-ninth bulletin: a few slight changes, suggested by General Drouot, were assented to by the Emperor; but, from what whim I know not, he would not confess, that his carriages had fallen into the hands of the enemy. "When you get to Paris," said M. de Flahaut to him, "it will be plainly seen, that your carriages have been taken. If you conceal this, you will be charged with disguising truths of more importance; and it is necessary to tell the whole, or say nothing." The Emperor, after some demurs, finally acceded to this advice.

Arrival at Paris, Abdication, and Departure.

On alighting at the Elyseum, the Emperor was received by the Duke of Vicenza, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity. He appeared sinking under grief and fatigue: his breast was affected, his respiration difficult. After a painful sigh, he said to the Duke: "The army performed prodigies, a panic terror seized it; all was lost Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me I can say no more I must have two hours to rest, to enable me to set about business: I am choking here;" and he laid his hand upon his heart.

M. Regnault, witnessing the irritation that prevailed, went to acquaint the Emperor, that the chamber appeared disposed to pronounce his deposition, if he did not abdicate immediately. The Emperor, not accustomed to receive the law, was indignant at the force attempted to be put upon him: "Since this is the case," said he, "I will not abdicate. The chamber is composed of Jacobins, fanatics, and ambitious men, who thirst after places and disturbance. I ought to have denounced them to the nation, and expelled them: the time lost may be repaired"

The Emperor's agitation was extreme. He strode about his closet, and muttered broken phrases, that it was impossible to comprehend. "Sire," at length answered M. Regnault, "do not endeavor, I conjure you, to struggle any longer against the stream of events. Time passes on: the enemy is advancing."

The Emperor pettishly replied, "I shall see: it has never been my intention to refuse to abdicate. I was a soldier; I will become one again: but I want to be allowed, to think of it calmly, with a view to the interests of France and of my son: tell them to wait."

The Emperor himself, stunned by the force and rapidity of the blows, that his enemies inflicted on him, thought no longer of defending himself; and seemed to leave to Providence the care of watching over him and his son. He complained: but his dissatisfaction expired on his lips, and excited in him none of those resolutions, that might have been expected from the fire and energy of his character.

The Duke of Otranto, however, and the deputies who had concurred with him in pulling down Napoleon from his throne, did not look on his residence at the Elyseum without alarm. They dreaded, lest emboldened by the daring councils of Prince Lucien, by the attachment the army retained for him; by the acclamations of the federates, and citizens of all classes, who assembled daily under the walls of his palace, he should attempt to renew a second 18th Brumaire. They demanded of the chamber, therefore, by the mouth of M. Duchesne, that the Ex-Emperor should be desired, in the name of their country, to remove from the capital. This demand having no effect recourse was had to other means. Endeavours were made to frighten him. Every day officious advisers warned him, that attempts were making against his life: and to give more probability to this clumsy scheme, his guard was suddenly reinforced. Nay, one night we were roused out of our beds by a messenger from the commandant of Paris, Gen. Hulin, who warned us to be on our guard as the Elyseum was going to be attacked, &c. But so great was our contempt for these wretched impositions, we did not even think it necessary to mention it to Napoleon; and saw the return of day, without having lost a single moment's rest. Nothing however could have been more easy, than to carry off or assassinate Napoleon. His palace, which ten days before could scarcely contain the bustling crowd of ambitious men and courtiers was now one vast solitude. All those men, destitute of faith and honour, whom power attracts, and adversity keeps at a distance, had deserted it. His guard had been reduced to a few old grenadiers: and a single sentry, scarcely in uniform, watched the gate of that Napoleon, that king of kings, who lately reckoned millions of soldiers under his banners.

From the very day of his abdication, the Emperor had thought of seeking an asylum in a foreign country.

find myself well received there, I will go to Buenos Ayres; I will go to California; in fine, I will go from shore to shore, till I meet an asylum against the malignancy and persecutions of men."

MARIE STUART—The new French Tragedy

"The first question asked you in every society is, 'Have you seen Marie Stuart?' If you are obliged to answer in the negative, they turn from you with a kind of disdainful pity; but if you can give an affirmative to the question, you are called upon to resuscitate all your sorrows. The Tragedy being too much praised, it certainly causes some disappointment in the representation. It presents the character of Mary in a different point of view from that in which we have been accustomed to contemplate her. Mademoiselle Duchesnois being, to use the least ungallant expression the occasion will permit, not the handsomest woman, of course much of the illusion necessary to the scene is lost, when she is the representative of the queen of Scots, who never appears to our imagination but adorned with all the grace and beauty peculiar to her sex; besides they have made her character too passionate and violent. Through the four first acts she seldom appears but in a storm of passion, and which, in the interview with Elizabeth, in the park of Fotheringay Castle, rises into an absolute paroxysm of fury, in which she flings about and stamps upon the stage, as if she would tear up the very boards; the stern-hearted arbitrary Elizabeth is a very lamb to her. This is neither historically nor poetically true, nor do we recognise until the parting scene in the fifth act, the tender, unfortunate, and resigned queen of Scots, whose hopes have been blasted, and spirit subdued by a nineteen years captivity, who pardons her jealous and unrelenting rival, and seems gladly to embrace death as a refuge from the cruel world which had abandoned her. This farewell scene, in which she takes leave of her women and servants, and distributes her jewels amongst them, is profoundly affecting, and draws forth an abundant tribute of tears and pocket handkerchiefs. The women weep and sob like children, and the men's eyes run like fountains—thus tender hearted are the Parisians. The closing scene is also excellent and extremely well managed. Mary is led out to the scaffold, and Leicester remains alone upon the stage, he listens at a window to the sounds which proceed from a chamber underneath, in which the execution takes place—he hears some one praying, he catches the sound of his own name, as if the victim was praying for him in her last agony—a breathless and portentous silence ensues, which is at last broken by the descent of the axe, he utters a soul harrowing scream, to which every nerve in the house vibrates, and falls senseless on the floor. The curtain drops. The effect of this last scene is terrible—is electric. It is in such a moment that Talma shows himself the greatest of actors—his deep-murmuring voice exerts a tremendous and almost supernatural power. Its bursting out is like a volcanic explosion of mingled passions—pity, love, self-hatred, remorse, horror and despair, are all sent forth in one wild expression of voice, and countenance, and attitude. The character of Leices-tee-re (as they pronounce it) is detestable throughout the piece—not possessing a single redeeming trait—he is a cold, calculating compromising courtier, and a mean pusillanimous and treacherous lover."—*Paris Paper.*

American Captives.

It appears by an official correspondence, copied below from the National Intelligencer of this morning, that our Minister at the court of Madrid, Mr. Forsyth, has seized the first favorable opportunity to effect the liberation of American captives, immured in Spanish dungeons. The liberal spirit of the new government did not hesitate a moment to grant this humane request, though the quondam ministers, Salmon and San Fernando had been solicited in vain six or eight months back for the attainment of the same object; but it appears, that according to the usage of *that day*, the communication was wholly neglected, as Mr. Forsyth never received any reply, on the subject. But how different the conduct of the present minister of State, Don JUAN JABET? In a few days not only a respectful reply is received, granting the liberation of our imprisoned citizens, but a decree issued to carry into effect this magnanimous act, both in Spain and America, thereby restoring to their country and their families, numbers who from principle and patriotism, had taken part with the independents of South America. In this respect, Mr. Forsyth's mission has been productive of more national advantage, in the eye of humanity, than if he had successfully obtained the transfer of the Floridas, and the abrogation of the disputed grants to boot.

Mr. Forsyth, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid, to Sr. Don Juan Jabat, Acting Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Madrid, March 31, 1820.

SIR: On the 18th of May, 1819, I had the honor to transmit to the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, ad interim Secretary of State and Dispatch, a representation in behalf of some Americans confined at Malaga. On the 31st of July, I asked the attention of his successor, Mr. Salmon, to the same subject. On the 21st of September, I presented to the Duke of San Fernando a statement, on the part of the American government, of all the persons, citizens of the United States, who were known to be in confinement in different portions of the Spanish dominions, with a list of their names. To this list I requested that three other persons' names might be added, by a note of the 5th of October. To neither of those several applications, have I received a reply. The recent and very interesting events which have occurred here lead me to hope, that a recurrence to this subject may be useful. Having been directed by the President of the United States to use all the

means in my power for the restoration of the Americans confined to their country and friends, I trust that I shall be excused for bringing into view a subject of apparently minor importance. I have been unofficially informed that the Americans who were in confinement at Malaga have been liberated, whether by an order of this government, or by the spontaneous generosity of the local authorities, anticipating the decision at Madrid, I know not. I persuade myself, if His Majesty's attention should, in the midst of the weighty concerns that now occupy his royal mind, be recalled to this subject, that the same liberal indulgence would be granted to all. A generous forgetfulness of past differences of opinion among Spaniards has been proclaimed and warmly recommended. I should feel the most heartfelt satisfaction if the same magnanimous policy should be extended to my suffering countrymen, without discrimination. Those who are innocent would receive it gratefully, since the culpable would partake of its benefits. I forbear to dilate on this subject, referring you to what has been previously addressed to your predecessors, contenting myself with repeating, that such an act would produce the happiest effects on the future relations of Spain and the United States, two nations who have many common, few opposite interests, and who have, at this moment, in the similarity and liberality of their institutions, stronger inducements to draw near to each other, than any other two powers on the globe.

I renew to you, sir, the offering of my most sincere respect and perfect consideration.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Translation of a letter of Don Juan Jabat, Acting Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, at Madrid, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

SIR:—I have the satisfaction to communicate to you, for the information of your government, that the King of the Spains, desirous to give to the United States of America continued proofs of his friendship for them, and of his wish to evince it more strongly at a period when, by the principles of their respective governments, both people have more nearly approximated to each other, has resolved to set at liberty all the Americans, of the United States, made prisoners within the dominions of Spain, for having taken part in the disturbances of His American Colonies.

His Majesty, in commanding me to make to you this communication, has further charged me to express his hope that this generous proceeding will be duly appreciated by your government; and the rather, when the injuries resulting to Spain, from a conduct so un-

justifiable, are taken into consideration; and that it will, in future, exert its whole authority and influence to suppress every hostile or piratical act derogatory to those principles of sound morality which should form the rule of conduct of all nations governed, as in the case of Spain and the United States, by a constitution founded on wisdom and justice.

I hereupon renew to you the assurance of my high respect, and I pray God long to preserve you.

JUAN JUBAT.

Madrid, 12th April, 1820.

[TRANSLATION.]

Copy of the Decree issued by His Majesty for the liberation of such Americans, of the United States, as have been made prisoners for taking part with the Insurgents in America.

Most Excellent Sir:—The King having been pleased to issue an act of pardon and oblivion, is desirous of giving immediate effect to it by setting at liberty all such Americans, of the United States, as have been made prisoners within his dominions for having borne arms with the insurgents; for having acted as spies; for having been arrested without the requisite passports; for having aided and abetted, directly or indirectly, the existing rebellion in his American possessions; and in fine, all such as have not committed the crimes of robbery and assassination, or who may be confined for just debts. Circular letters to this effect are to be immediately despatched to all competent officers in America, in Spain, and in the garrisons abroad.

All which I communicate by Royal Order, for your information, and to serve the needful purposes.

God preserve you many years.

JUAN JABAT.

Palace, 12th April, 1820.

Mr. Forsyth to Senior Don Juan Jabat.

Madrid, April 12, 1820.

SIR:—I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's note of this day's date giving me information that the King of Spain had determined to liberate all the Americans, prisoners in the Spanish dominions, for having interfered in the disturbances with the Americas. I shall hasten to transmit this pleasing intelligence to the government of my country, who will find in it new motives to prevent all violations of that neutrality, within the strict limits of which it resolved to confine itself at the commencement of those disturbances. It is with infinite pleasure I shall perform this duty, as I well know this act of his Catholic Majesty will be highly grateful in itself to the American government, and be considered as the presage of future harmony between Spain and the United States—evidence of the

spirit of generous friendship which is hereafter to animate and regulate the intercourse between them. I rejoice that the policy and circumstances of this government have permitted the indulgence of his Majesty's benevolent disposition towards my suffering countrymen.

I renew to your excellency the assurance of my high respect and consideration.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Mr. Forsyth to the Consuls of the United States on the Mediterranean, in Spain.

Madrid, April 13, 1820.

SIR: I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the King of the Spain has directed all the Americans, prisoners, in different parts of the Spanish dominions for having intermeddled in the disturbances with the Americans to be liberated. I give you this information, that you may take the earliest opportunity to convey it to the Americans who may be in confinement in your neighborhood. At the same time, you are hereby authorized to say to them, that the expenses of their voyage, from the place of confinement to the United States, will be advanced, if necessary, by the American government. For this purpose, any advances you may make will be repaid to you out of the contingent fund of this Legation, or at the department of State in Washington, at your option. I am, &c.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Reported for the New York American.

Before SILVANUS MILLER, Esq. Surrogate, &c. in the matter of granting Letters of Administration on the estate of John Haviland, late of the city of New York, tobaccoist, deceased.

Administration was claimed by two women, each alleging herself to be the widow of the inestate. It was averred and proved that one was the acknowledged wife of the deceased in Ireland, and as such cohabited with him there, and had a daughter by him, whom he always acknowledged as such; that she and this daughter arrived in this country with the father of the deceased, from Ireland about twenty years since, having been solicited to do by the deceased; that on their arrival they were all recognized in their relationship by the deceased; that the father and the daughter died, of which the deceased and his wife separated, by mutual consent. The other woman was then taken into the house, acknowledged as his wife, went by that appellation, and performed the various duties of that situation and character. The Surrogate decided that the evidence of the first marriage was legal and sufficient, and that that marriage must be recognized, in granting letters of administration on the effects of John Haviland. That marriage was, in this state, a civil contract susceptible of being proved by the same kind of testimony by which other civil contracts may be established, and must be considered in the present application. That therefore the woman who was acknowledged by the deceased as his lawful wife, with whom he cohabited as such,

and whom he had a child, acknowledged by him to be his, must be considered to have been his only lawful wife, and no other person could, therefore, claim to be his widow. He therefore ordered letters of administration to be granted to her. An appeal was filed from this decision to the court of probates, where the surrogate's order was affirmed.

VULGAR ERRORS.

1. That the scorpion does not sting itself when surrounded by fire, and that its sting is not even venomous. Keyser's Travels, Maupertius, Hughes Barbadoes, Hamilton's Letters on Phil.

2. That the tarantula is not poisonous, and that music has no particular effect on persons bitten by it, more than on those stung by a wasp. De la Lande's Travels, Naples; Abbe Richards' dicto.

3. That the lizard is not friendly to man in particular, much less does it awaken him on the approach of a serpent. Hughes' Barbadoes, Brook's Natural History.

4. That the remora has no such power as to retard the sailing of a ship by sticking itself to its bottom. De la Lande, *Alii passim*.

5. That the stroke of the cramp fish is not occasioned by a muscle. Bancroft's Guiana concerning the torporific eel.

6. That the salamander does not live in fire nor is it capable of bearing more heat than other animals. Sir T. Brown suspected it, Keyser has clearly proved it.

7. That the bite of the spider is not venomous. Reaumer. That it is found in Ireland too plentifully. That it has no dislike to fixing its web on Irish oak. That it has no antipathy to the toad Barrington. Philos. Trans. &c. Swammerdam.

8. It is an error to suppose that a fly has only a microscope eye. Dragon flies, bees, wasps, flesh, flies, &c. will turn off and avoid an object in their way, on the swiftest wing, which shows a very quick and commanding sight. It is probable, that the sight of all animals is in quickness and extent, proportioned to their speed.

9. The porcupine does not shoot out its quills for annoying its enemy; he only sheds them annually, as other feathered animals do. He has a muscular skin, and can shake the loose ones off at the time of moulting. Hughes *et alii passim*.

10. The jackall, commonly called the lion's provider, has no connexion at all with the lion. He is a sort of fox, and is hunted in the east as the fox is with us. Shaw, Sandys.

11. The fable of the fox and grapes is taught us from our childhood, without our once reflecting that the foxes we are acquainted with, do not eat grapes. This fable came

from the east, the fox of Palestine is a great destroyer of grapes. Hasselquist, Shaw.

12. The eye of birds is not more agile than that of other animals, though their sight is more quick. On the contrary, their eye is quite immovable, as is that of most animals and insects of the quickest sight. Brit. Zoology, &c.

13. The tiger, instead of being the swiftest of beasts, is a remarkably sluggish and slow animal. Owen's Dic. *in verbo*, Experiment at Windsor Lodge.

14. Sir Thomas Brown, who wrote against Vulgar Errors, maintains that apes and elephants may be taught to speak.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

DIED, on board the United States brig Enterprise, on her passage from the Havanna to Charleston, S. C. Lieut. CHARLES L. SPRINGER, of the U. S. Navy, and JOHN J. BERRY, captain's clerk.

At New-Orleans, on the 3d ult. CHAS. F. WINN, a midshipman in the United States Navy, and a native of Louisiana.

Suddenly, with apoplexy, on the 11th ult.: at New Brunswick, N. J. JOHN GARNETT, Esq. in the 72d year of his age, a native of England. His most distinguished trait was that of profound Mathematical research and acquirement, and the application of principles to practical purposes in the Arts. Gentlemen of science and erudition in the northern and middle states, cultivated his acquaintance, and esteemed his friendship. His house was the resort of science, intelligence and letters. Benevolence and affection irradiated his countenance and beamed in every action and sentiment. Prejudice and guile could not exist, where honor honesty, and a lively exercise of every moral and political virtue predominated and dictated the whole man. His scientific knowledge rendered him an ornament to the country which he had adopted, and his exemplary and useful life produced cogent reasons in the public estimation for deploring the death of this excellent man. Although advanced beyond the common period of life, when the mental abilities become more or less impaired still his friends had not yet discovered any imbecility of intellect or failure of memory. Mr Garnett contemplated visiting his native country in the course of the approaching summer. But, alas! how little does man know of futurity "when in the midst of life we are in death." He retired to bed at the usual hour in good health and spirits, and about midnight his soul winged its way "to those regions from whose bourne no traveller returns."

In London, on April 13th, the celebrated ANTHONY YOUNG, Esq. aged upwards of 80 years. The mode in which this justly celebrated man attained his celebrity will readily recur to our readers; and it is such an one as ought to give permanence to his fame. He was a scientific, industrious, and enterprising agriculturist. He travelled in France, and other parts of continental Europe, as well as in Ireland and England, for the improvement of his favorite art; and the published accounts of those travels, as well as his numerous occasional letters on similar topics, have been extensively circulated and properly appreciated. He was a respectable correspondent of our distinguished countrymen, General Washington and Mr. Jefferson.

RALPH, June 10.

United States Engineers.—These Gentlemen made but a short stay on our coast—so short, that though the Board of Public Improvements were desirous of communicating with them, they had it not in their power. The first intimation of their intended visit was contained in a letter to Governor Branch, from Col. Armistead, Chief Engineer, dated the tenth of April, followed by two others from the Secretary of War. Gen. Bernard, and Cols. Gratiot, and Totten reached Edenton about the 26th, (while the Engineer of the State was engaged in making an examination and survey of Croatan and Roanoke Sounds.) Tho' this fact was communicated to these Gentlemen, by a member of the Board of Public Improvements, they passed on to Washington. From which place the governor received a letter from Col. Gratiot, dated the 4th ult. informing him that the Board would be at Roanoke Island on or about the 15th of the month, "in execution of the President's orders to examine how far it may be practicable to open a communication from the Sound to the Sea at that point." Adding "that the Board would be anxious to meet there the State Engineer, or any of the members of the Board of Public Works."

The 15th was the day fixed for the meeting of the Board of Public Improvements in this city. The Board met accordingly; and on the letters which had been received by the Governor on the subject, being laid before them, it was forthwith resolved, that Mr. Fulton, the State Engineer should immediately return to the Sea Coast, in order to meet and confer with the Board of United States Engineers. He accordingly set out; but when he reached Edenton, he found they had left the Roanoke Island for Norfolk. Mr. Fulton, agreeably to his instructions, followed them there; but had the mortification to find that they had left that place also for the North.

Mr. F. then returned: and as he is instructed to make an examination of Ocracoke Inlet, he may probably fall in with Captains Elliott and Elton, who we have learnt, the United States Engineers have left behind them, to make the necessary surveys of the Coast.—If so he will be able to communicate information which will doubtless be useful to these Gentlemen, in relation to the much desired Inlet from Roanoke Sound; though we regret he has not the satisfaction of conferring and in interchanging sentiments with the Board of Engineers themselves, in conformity with what we know was the earnest wish of the Board of Public Improvements.

STEAM NAVIGATION.

CHARLESTON, JUNE 8.—The steam-ship ROBERT FULTON which entered our harbour yesterday, is pronounced, on all hands, to be a most beautiful specimen of Naval Architecture—combining elegance of model, with strength and convenience. She has on board about seventy passengers, who speak of her in the highest terms of approbation. Her run from Havannah was made in 90 hours; and but for the strong N. E. gale which commenced with us at noon on Tuesday, her passage would have been nearly 24 snorter. She will proceed for New-York on Saturday morning.

A GOOD STORY—AND WELL TOLD.

Extract of a letter to the editor of the Carlisle Republican, dated York, (Pa.) May 16.

The Devil Caught.—“Some time since his majesty king Lucier was caught and safely delivered over to the custody of the jailor of this county, where he is at present in confinement, well secured and ironed, to wait the decision of the law. The circumstances are, as far as they have come to my knowledge, as follows:—A farmer in a neighbouring township, after his family had retired to rest, was sitting by the fire ruminating over the events of the day and the prospects of to-morrow, when suddenly the door of his apartment was thrown open, and in stalked a gigantic figure with a large pair of horns, very fiery eyes and terrible aspect, and a long brindled tail, which swung about the brimstone tyrant in all the majesty of ugliness. The terrified farmer stood aghast, whilst in a hoarse and hollow voice, he learned to his utter fear and astonishment, that the august personage before him was the Devil, who had come to take possession of his body and soul. The luckless farmer plead off. The Devil was inexorable.—The terrified man fell on his knees and begged a day, promising every thing in the world for a respite. At length his infernal Majesty offered to give him a few years time for the sum of *five hundred dollars*, which the farmer immediately presented in bank notes, but the devil told him he “durst not touch any paper money—his fingers would burn it.” The farmer then promised and swore that he would have the notes exchanged for specie the next day, and if his majesty would please to call upon him the ensuing night he should have it. Upon this assurance the devil departed, and the next day the farmer came to this place, where he procured specie for his notes, and returned home, happy in the thoughts of getting so easily rid of his unwelcome visitor. In the course of the evening a Yankee pedlar stopped at his house and asked for lodgings, which were refused, and on the Yankee’s insisting to stay, as he could go no further that night, and the farmer told him that he had better not, as the devil was to be there shortly, and would in all probability take him along. The Yankee, although a little surprised at the oddity of the man, replied that he was willing to risk it. He unharnessed his nag, swallowed his supper, and after providing himself with a good club, took his station in a private corner. The farmer stood his table before the fire, at one end of which he took his seat, and at the other end paraded his dollars, apparently wishing to avoid as much as possible, the sooty fingers and sul-

phurous scent of Mr. Belzebub. Accordingly, at a late hour the door flew open, in stalked his Majesty, accoutred as before, spitting fire and vomiting smoke in his passage to the table which contained farmer’s ransom. The Devil who hates formality, immediately commenced gathering up the pieces, when our yankee, stepping up behind him, levelled a blow at his head with the club which did no further injury than knocking off one of the horns of Mr. Devil, who seemed disposed to make his escape, but fortunately a second hit with the club knocked him down, when, with the assistance of the farmer, who by this time had not so much dread of his Satanic Majesty, he was tied and conveyed to the prison of this place.”

THE REVENGE OF AMERICA.

BY JOSEPH WARTON.

When fierce Pizarro’s legions flew
O’er ravag’d fields of rich Peru,
Struck with his bleeding people’s woes,
Old India’s awful Genius rose.
He sat on Andes’ topmost stone,
And heard a thousand nations groan;
For grief his feathery crown he tore,
To see huge Plata foam with gore;
He broke his arrows, stamp’d the ground,
To view his cities smoking round.
“What woes,” he cried, “hath lust of gold
O’er my poor country widely roll’d;
Plunderers proceed! my bowels tear,
But ye shall meet destruction there;
From the deep-vaulted mine shall rise
The insatiate fiend, pale Avarice,
Whose steps shall trembling Justice fly,
Peace, Order, Law, and Amity!
I see all Europe’s children curs’d
With lucre’s universal thirst;
The rage that sweeps my sons away,
My baneful gold shall well repay.”

PROPITIATORY.

To a Lady who took offence at an idle remark made upon her portrait.

How oft like the spark, will an idle remark,
To a flame most alarmingly grow!
While, our minds in the dark, to no reasons will hark,
And a friend often turn to a foe!

It is held, the world round, as a maxim most sound,
The intention constitutes an offence,
And if there’s no ground for intentional wound,
None’s inflicted in the eyes of good sense.

In the duties of life, whether of husband or wife,
Of father, mother, brother, or friend,
How oft like the knife, will the least little strife,
Cut affections no healing can mend.

Then, ere it’s too late to avoid ugly hate,
Let us list to the dictates of reason;
And while ’tis our fate to endure this frail state,
Let no strife o’ercloud our short season.

B.